

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 PM-03 SP-02 L-01

PRS-01 INR-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 ACDA-10 EUR-08 IO-03

SSO-00 INRE-00 RSC-01 /063 W

----- 094718

O 301300Z JAN 75

FM AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8236

INFO AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY SAIGON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L HELSINKI 0185

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, FI, VS

SUBJ: GOF POSITION ON PRG PARTICIPATION IN THE  
LAW OF WAR CONFERENCE

LONDON FOR GEORGE ALDRICH

REF: (A) STATE 020502 (B) STATE 020131 (C) HELSINKI

166 (NOTAL) (D) HELSINKI 157 (NOTAL)

(E) HELSINKI 133 (NOTAL) (F) SAIGON 1073

1. IN ACCORDANCE DEPT'S INSTRUCTIONS REFTEL A, I  
TODAY CALLED ON FOREIGN MINISTER KARJALAINEN TO MAKE  
ADDITIONAL REPRESENTATIONS PARALLELLING THOSE MADE  
BY UNDER SECRETARY SISCO TO FINNISH AMBASSADOR  
TUOMINEN.

2. IN MAKING MY REPRESENTATIONS I DREW ON REFS A  
AND B FOR POINTS DIRECTLY CONCERNED WITH PROCEDURAL  
AND SUBSTANTIVE VOTING ASPECTS OF QUESTION OF PRG  
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PARTICIPATION AT LOW CONFERENCE IN PARTICULAR, AND

LEFT WITH FINNS AIDE MEMOIRE ON THESE POINTS.

3. I THEN IMPRESSED ON KARJALAINEN IMPORTANCE THAT USG ATTACHES TO PRG QUESTION, ADDING THAT FINNS WERE OF COURSE FULLY AWARE OF USG'S POSITION ON DEVELOPMENTS IN VIET-NAM AND FACT THAT USG IN NO WAY CONSIDERED PRG TO QUALIFY AS A GOVERNMENT, AS WE HAD REITERATED SEVERAL TIMES DURING MY TALKS WITH HIM AND IN DISCUSSIONS THAT EMBOFFS HAD ENGAGED IN WITH MFA REPRESENTATIVES.

4. DRAWING ON REFS A, B AND F, I TOLD KARJALAINEN THAT ALTHOUGH WE FELT THAT PRG HAD NOT GAINED SUPPORT SINCE LAST YEAR, VOTE WOULD BE CLOSE AND FINNISH ABSTENTION THEREFORE IMPORTANT.

5. I FINALLY MADE POINT THAT I UNDERSTOOD PRESSURES ON GOF, BUT THAT USG EXPECTED FINLAND TO ACT AS A NEUTRAL IN ACCORDANCE WITH ITS DECLARED POLICY OF NEUTRALITY.

6. KARJALAINEN SAID THAT HE WAS FULLY AWARE OF US POSITION ON THIS QUESTION AND THAT VIEWS I HAD PRESENTED WOULD BE GIVEN MOST SERIOUS CONSIDERATION BY GOF IN MAKING ITS DECISION WHICH, ACCORDING TO KARJALAINEN, HAS NOT BEEN MADE YET.

7. KARJALAINEN THEN SAID THAT QUESTION WAS A DIFFICULT ONE FOR FINLAND. HE SAID THAT SITUATION WAS UNCLEAR AND THAT THERE WERE IN EFFECT TWO GOVERNMENTS THERE. WHEN I CHALLENGED HIM ON PRG BEING A GOVERNMENT, HE FIRST CHANGED THAT TO "VARIOUS AREAS ARE GOVERNED BY TWO PARTIES," AND THEN AGREED TO WORD "CONTROLLED" IN PLACE OF "GOVERNED". KARJALAINEN MAINTAINED THAT IT SEEMED AS THOUGH SITUATION IN VIETNAM HAD CHANGED IN FAVOR OF PRG. I REJOINED BY TELLING HIM THAT IF THIS WERE SO, THEN IT WAS A RESULT OF DRV/PRG AGGRESSION AND NOT LIVING UP TO PARIS AGREEMENTS AS GVN HAD DONE.

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8. KARJALAINEN DISCLAIMED ANY PRESSURE ON GOF. CONCERNING FINLAND ACTING AS A NEUTRAL, HE SAID THAT THIS WAS EXACTLY WHAT FINLAND WANTED TO BE -- A "TRUE NEUTRAL" ON THIS QUESTION; I.E., NEUTRAL VIS-A-VIS BOTH GVN AND PRG. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION AS TO HOW SITUATION HAD CHANGED SINCE LAST YEAR, WHEN FINLAND WAS NEUTRAL AND HAD ABSTAINED AND THIS YEAR WHEN FINLAND IS STILL NEUTRAL, KARJALAINEN

ANSWERED THAT ABSTAINING HAD PERHAPS BEEN LESS THAN COMPLETELY NEUTRAL AND THAT SITUATION IN VIETNAM APPEARED TO HAVE BECOME WORSE FOR GVN.

9. KARJALAINEN SAID THAT HE WOULD CONVEY VIEWS OF USG TO HIS GOVERNMENT, BUT DID NOT SPECIFY WHETHER BY THIS HE MEANT PRESIDENT KEKKONEN OF THE CABINET.

10. COMMENT: ALTHOUGH KARJALAINEN DID NOT SAY SO, AND THERE IS STILL SOME HOPE, HAVE AN UNEASY FEELING THAT GOF WILL IN FACT CAVE IN ON THIS QUESTION AND CHANGE FROM ABSTAINING TO SUPPORTING PRG PARTICIPATION AT LOW CONFERENCE. READING BETWEEN LINES OF KARJALAINEN'S REMARKS I HAVE IMPRESSION THAT HE AND HIS CENTER PARTY WILL NOT STAND UP TO PRESSURE FROM COMMUNISTS AND SOCIAL DEMOCRATS, PRESSURE REINFORCED BY FINNISH BELIEF THAT SWEDEN WILL COME OUT FOR PRG. IT APPEARS THAT KARJALAINEN AND GOF ARE RATIONALIZING THEIR SWITCH, IF IT COMES ABOUT, ALONG LINES OF SWEDISH AGRICULTURE MINISTER LUNDKVIST (REFTEL E); I.E., THAT SINCE THERE IS NOT OPPORTUNITY TO ABSTAIN ON BOTH GVN AND PRG PARTICIPATION, PRG SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO PARTICIPATE WHENEVER GVN DOES. REF D ILLUSTRATES KIND OF PRESSURE FINNISH LEFTISTS HAVE BEEN TRYING TO EXERT IN MEDIA IN FAVOR OF PRG. MUCH MORE IMPORTANT AND UNFORTUNATE, HOWEVER, IS EDITORIAL WHICH APPEARED IN TODAY'S DEMARI, LEADING NEWSPAPER OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY, IN WHICH A DEMAND IS MADE FOR GOF TO SUPPORT PRG PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES.

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptoning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** LAW OF WAR, MEMBER ADMISSIONS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 30 JAN 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** RowellE0  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1975HELSIN00185  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D750034-0558  
**From:** HELSINKI  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1975/newtext/t1975017/aaaaagco.tel  
**Line Count:** 146  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION EA  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** LIMDIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** LIMDIS  
**Reference:** 75 STATE 020502, 75 STATE 020131  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** RowellE0  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 12 MAY 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <12 MAY 2003 by ElyME>; APPROVED <29 SEP 2003 by RowellE0>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
05 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** GOF POSITION ON PRG PARTICIPATION IN THE LAW OF WAR CONFERENCE  
**TAGS:** PFOR, FI, VS, PRG  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006